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# BULLETIN

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### GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES—II.

BY

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*(Part I in BULLETIN for July.)*

When the political boundary has evolved by a system of contraction out of the wide waste zone to the nicely determined line, that line, nevertheless, is always encased, as it were, in a zone of contact wherein are mingled the elements of either side. This zone includes the peripheries of the two contiguous racial or national bodies, and in it each is modified and assimilated to the other. On its edges it is strongly marked by the characteristics of the adjacent sides, but its medial band shows a mingling of the two in ever-varying proportions; it changes from day to day and shifts backward and forward, according as one side or the other exercises in it more potent economic, religious, racial, or political influences.

Its peripheral character comes out strongly in the mingling of contiguous ethnic elements found in every frontier district. Here is that zone of transitional form which we have seen prevails so widely in nature. The northern border-land of the United States is in no small degree Canadian, and the southern is strongly Mexican. In the Rio Grande counties of Texas, Mexicans constituted in 1890 from 27 to 55 per cent. of the total population, and they were distributed in considerable numbers also in the second tier of counties. A broad band of French and English Canadians overlaps the northern hem of United States territory from Maine to North Dakota.\* In the New York and New England counties bordering on the old French province of Quebec, they constitute from 11 to 22 per cent. of the total population, except in two or three western counties of Maine which have evidently been mere passways for a tide of

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\* Eleventh Census of the United States, Population, Part 1., map No. 10 and p. CXLIII.

*habitants* moving on to more attractive conditions of life in the counties just to the south.\* But even these large figures do not adequately represent the British American element within our boundaries, because they leave out of account the native-born of Canadian parents who have been crossing our borders for over a generation.

If we turn to northern Italy, where a mountain barrier might have been expected to segregate the long-headed Mediterranean stock from the broad-headed Alpine stock, we find as a matter of fact that the ethnic type throughout the Po basin is markedly brachycephalic and becomes more pronounced along the northern boundary in the Alps, till it culminates in Piedmont, along the frontier of France, where it becomes identical with the broad-headed Savoyards.† More than this, Provençal French is spoken in the Dora Baltea valley of Piedmont; and along the upper Dora Riparia and in the neighbouring valleys of the Chisone and Pellice are the villages of the refugee Waldenses, who speak an idiom allied to the Provençal. More than this, the whole Piedmontese Italian is characterized by its approach to the French, and the idiom of Turin sounds very much like Provençal.‡ To the north there is a similar exchange between Italy and Switzerland with the adjacent Austrian province of the Tyrol. In the rugged highlands of the Swiss Grisons bordering upon Italy, we find a pure Alpine stock, known to the ancients as the Rhaetians, speaking a degenerate Latin tongue called Romansch, which still persists also under the names of Ladino and Frioul in the Alpine regions of the Tyrol and Italy. In fact, the map of the linguistic boundaries in the Grisons shows the dovetailing of German, Italian, and Romansch in a broad zone.§ The traveller in the southern Tyrol becomes accustomed in the natives to the combination of Italian colouring, German speech, and Alpine head form; whereas, if on reaching Italy he visits the hills back of Vicenza, he finds the German settlements of Tredici and Sette Comuni, where German customs, folklore, language, and German types of faces still persist, survivals from the days of German infiltration across the Brenner Pass.||

Where Slavs and Teutons come together in Central Europe, their race border is a zone lying approximately between 14 and 24 degrees East Longitude; it is crossed by alternate peninsulas of predominant

\* Ibid. Based on comparison of Tables 15 and 33 for the States mentioned.

† W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 250-253. New York, 1899.

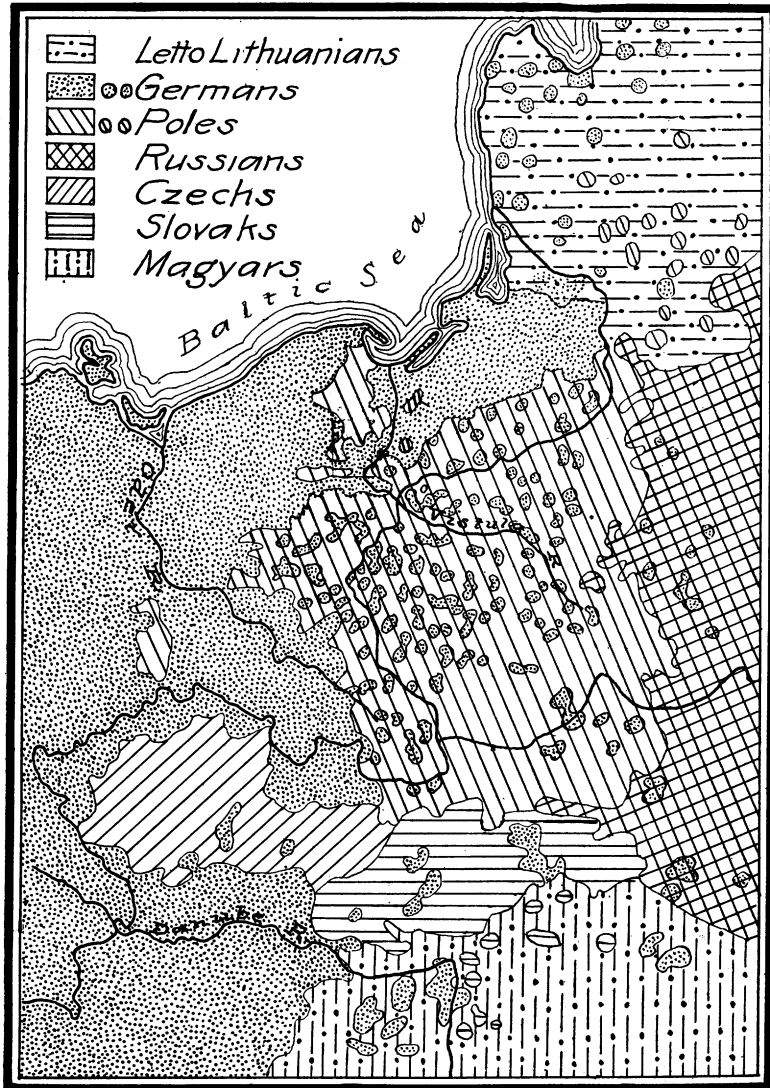
‡ W. Deecke, *Italy*, pp. 325, 347, 349. Translated from the German. London, 1904.

§ Sydow-Wagner, *Methodischer Schul-Atlas Völker und Sprachenkarten*, No. 13. Gotha, 1905.

W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 282-284. New York, 1899.

|| Ibid. pp. 255-257. W. Deecke, *Italy*, p. 357. London, 1904.

Germans and Austrians from the one side, Czechs and Poles from the other, the whole spattered over by a sprinkling of the two elements. Rarely, and then only for short stretches, do political and



ethnic boundaries coincide. The northern frontier hem of East Prussia lying between the River Niemen and the political line of demarcation is quite as much Lithuanian as German, while German stock dots the whole surface of the Baltic provinces of Russia as

far as St. Petersburg. The eastern rim of the Kaiser's empire as far south as the Karpathians presents a broad band of the Polish race, averaging about fifty kilometers (30 miles) in width, sparsely sprinkled with German settlements; these are found farther east also as an ethnic archipelago dotting the wide Slav area of Poland. The enclosed basin of Bohemia, protected on three sides by mountain walls and readily accessible to the Slav stock at the sources of the Vistula, enabled the Czechs to penetrate far westward and there maintain themselves; but in spite of encompassing mountains, the inner or Bohemian slopes of the Boehmer Wald, Erz, and Sudetes ranges constitute a broad girdle of almost solid German population.\* In the Austrian provinces of Moravia and Silesia, which form the southeastward continuation of this Slav-German boundary zone, 60 per cent. of the population are Czechs, 33 per cent. are German, and 7 per cent., found in the eastern part of Silesia, are Poles.†

An ethnic map of the western Muscovite Empire in Europe shows a marked infiltration into White and Little Russia of West Slavs from Poland, and in the province of Bessarabia alternate areas of Russians and Roumanians. The latter in places form an unbroken ethnic expansion from the home kingdom west of the Pruth, extending in solid bands as far as the Dniester, and throwing out ethnic islands between this stream and the Bug. Southern Bessarabia is peopled largely by Bulgarians who have spread across the Danube delta from the steppes of the Dobruja, formerly Bulgarian but since 1881 Roumanian territory.

In the northern provinces of Russia, in the broad zone shared by the aboriginal Finns and the later-coming Slavs, Wallace found villages in every stage of Russification. "In one everything seemed thoroughly Finnish; the inhabitants had a reddish-olive skin, very high cheek bones, obliquely set eyes, and a peculiar costume; none of the women and very few of the men could understand Russian and any Russian who visited the place was regarded as a foreigner. In the second, there were already some Russian inhabitants; the others had lost something of their purely Finnish type, many of the men had discarded the old costume and spoke Russian fluently, and a Russian visitor was no longer shunned. In a third, the Finnish type was still further weakened; all the men spoke Russian, and nearly all the women understood it; the old male costume had entirely disappeared and the old female was rapidly following it; and intermarriage with the Russian population was no longer rare.

\* Sydow-Wagner, *Methodischer Schul-Atlas Völker und Sprachenkarten*, No. 13. Gotha, 1905.

† Hugh R. Mill, *International Geography*, p. 309. New York, 1902.

In a fourth, intermarriage had almost completely done its work, and the old Finnish element could be detected merely in certain peculiarities of physiognomy and accent." This amalgamation extends to their religions—prayers wholly pagan devoutly uttered under the shadow of a strange cross, next the Finnish god Yumak sharing honours equally with the Virgin, finally a Christianity pure in doctrine and outward forms except for the survival of old pagan ceremonies in connection with the dead."\*

At the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers, this boundary zone of Russians and Finns meets the borderland of the Asiatic Mongols; and here is found an intermingling of races, languages, religions, and customs scarcely to be equalled elsewhere. Finns are infused with Tartar as well as Russian blood, and Russians show Tartar as well as Finnish traits. The Bashkirs, who constitute an ethnic peninsula running from the solid Mongolian mass of Asia, show every type of the mongrel.†

If we turn to Asia and examine the western race boundary of the expanding Chinese, we find that a wide belt of mingled ethnic elements, hybrid languages, and antagonistic civilizations marks the transition from Chinese to Mongolian and Tibetan areas. The eastern and southern frontiers of Mongolia, formerly marked by the Great Wall, are now difficult to define, owing to the steady encroachment of the agricultural Chinese on the fertile edges of the plateau, where they have converted the best-watered pastures of the Mongols into millet fields and vegetable gardens, leaving for the nomad's herds the more sterile patches between.‡ Every line of least resistance—climatic, industrial, commercial—sees the Chinese widening this transitional zone. He sprinkles his crops over the "Land of Grass," invades the trade of the caravan towns, sets up his fishing station on the great northern bend of the Hoang-ho in the Ordos country, three hundred miles beyond the Wall, to exploit the fishing neglected by the Mongols.§ The well-watered region of the Nan-Shan ranges has enabled him to drive a long, narrow ethnic peninsula, represented by the westward projection of Kansu Province between Mongolia and Tibet, into the heart of the Central Plateau. Here the nomad Si Fan tribes dwell side by side with Chinese farmers,|| who themselves show a strong infusion of the Mongolian and

\* D. M. Wallace, *Russia*, pp. 151-155. New York, 1904.

† W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 362. New York, 1899.

‡ Archibald Little, *The Far East*, Map p. 8 and pp. 171-172. Oxford, 1905.

§ M. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846*. Vol. I, pp. 2-4, 21, 197-201, 284. Reprint, Chicago, 1898.

|| *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 166-170.

|| *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 23.

Tibetan blood to the north and south, and whose language is a medley of all three tongues.\*

In easternmost Tibet, in the elevated province of Minjak (2,600 meters or 8,500 feet), M. Huc found in 1846 a great number of Chinese from the neighbouring Sze-Chuan and Yunnan districts keeping shops and following the primary trades and agriculture. The language of the Tibetan natives showed the effect of foreign intercourse; it was not the pure speech of Lhasa, but was closely assimilated to the idiom of the neighbouring Si Fan speech of Sze-Chuan and contained many Chinese expressions. He found also a modification of manners, customs, and costumes in this peripheral Tibet; the natives showed more of the polish, cunning, and covetousness of the Chinese, less of the rudeness, frankness, and strong religious feeling characteristic of the western plateau man.† Just across the political boundary in Chinese territory, the border zone of assimilation shows predominance of the Chinese element with a strong Tibetan admixture both in race and civilization.‡ Here Tibetan traders with their yak caravans are met on the roads or encamped in their tents by the hundred about the peripheral towns, whither they have brought the wool, sheep, horses, hides and medicinal roots of the rough highland across that "wild borderland which is neither Chinese nor Tibetan." The Chinese population consists of hardy mountaineers, who eat millet and maize instead of rice. The prevailing architecture is Tibetan and the priests on the highways are the red and yellow lamas from the Buddhist monasteries of the plateau. "The Country is a cross between China and Tibet."§

Even the high wall of the Himalayas does not suffice to prevent similar exchanges of ethnic elements and culture between southern Tibet and northern India. Lhasa and Giamda harbour many emigrants from the neighbouring Himalayan state of Bhutan, allow them to monopolize the metal industry, in which they excel, and to practise undisturbed their Indian form of Buddhism.|| The southern side of this zone of transition is occupied by a Tibetan stock of people inhabiting the Himalayan frontiers of India and practising the Hindu religion.¶ In the hill country of northern Bengal natives are to be seen with the Chinese queue hanging below a Hindu turban, or

\* Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 312-313.

† Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 319-322, 327.

‡ M. Huc, *Journey through the Chinese Empire*, Vol. I, p. 36, New York, 1871.

§ Isabella Bird Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley, and Beyond*, Vol. II, pp. 70-71, 88, 91, 92, 104-109, 113, 117, 133, 134, 155, 194, 195. London, 1900.

|| M. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China*, 1844-1846, Vol. II, pp. 155-156, 264. Reprint, Chicago, 1898.

¶ Statistical Atlas of India, pp. 61-62. Maps. Calcutta, 1895.

wearing the Hindu caste mark on their broad Mongolian faces. With these are mingled genuine Tibetans who have come across the border to work in the tea plantations of this region.\*

The assimilation of culture within a boundary zone is in some respects the result of race amalgamation, as, for instance, in costume, religion, manners and language; but in economic points it is often the result of identical geographic influences to which both races are alike subjected. For example, scarcity of food on the arid plateau of Central Asia makes the Chinese of western Kansu eat butter and curds as freely as do the pastoral Mongols, though such a diet is obnoxious to the purely agricultural Chinese of the lowlands.† The English pioneer in the trans-Allegheny wilderness shared with the Indians an environment of trackless forests and savage neighbours; he was forced to discard for a time many essentials of civilization, both material and moral. Despite a minimum of race intermixture, the men of the Cumberland and Kentucky settlements became assimilated to the life of the red man; they borrowed his scalping knife and tomahawk, adopted his method of ambush and extermination in war; like him they lived in great part by the chase, dressed in furs and buckskin, and wore the noiseless moccasin. Here the mere fact of geographical location on a remote frontier, and of almost complete isolation from the centres of English life on the Atlantic slope, and the further fact of persistent contact with a lower status of civilization, resulted in a temporary return to primitive methods of existence, till the settlements secured an increase of population adequate for higher industrial development and for defence.

A race boundary involves almost inevitably a cultural boundary, often, too, a linguistic and religious, occasionally a political boundary. The last three are subject to wide fluctuation, frequently overstepping all barriers of race and contrasted civilizations. Though one often accompanies another, it is necessary to distinguish the different kinds of boundaries and to estimate their relative importance in the history of a people or state. We may lay down the rule that the greater, more permanent, and deep-seated the contrasts on the two sides of a border, the greater is its significance; and that, on this basis, boundaries rank in importance, with few exceptions, in the following order: racial, cultural, linguistic, and political. The less marked the contrasts, in general, the more rapid and complete the process of assimilation in the belt of borderland.

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\* Eliza R. Scidmore, *Winter India*, pp. 106-108. New York, 1903.

† M. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846*, Vol. I, pp. 312-313. Reprint, Chicago, 1898.

The significance of the border zone of assimilation for political expansion lies in the fact that it prepares the way for the advance of the state boundary from either side; in it the sharp edge of race and cultural antagonism is removed, or for this antagonism a new affinity may be substituted. The zone of American settlement, industry, and commerce which in 1836 projected beyond the political boundary of the Sabine River over the eastern part of Mexican Texas facilitated the later incorporation of the State into the Union, just as a few years earlier the Baton Rouge District of Spanish West Florida had gravitated to the United States by reason of the predominant American element there, and thus extended the boundary of Louisiana to the Pearl River. When the political boundary of Siberia was fixed at the Amoor River, the Muscovite Government began extending the border zone of assimilation far to the south of that stream by the systematic Russification of Manchuria with a view to its ultimate annexation. Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine, by reason of their large German population, have been readily incorporated into the German Empire. Only in Lorraine has a considerable French element retarded the process. The considerable sprinkling of Germans over the Baltic provinces of Russia and Poland west of the Vistula, and a certain Teutonic stamp of civilization which these districts have received, would greatly facilitate the eastward extension of the German Empire; while their common religions, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, would help obliterate the old political fissure. Thus the borderland of a country, so markedly differentiated from its interior, performs a certain historical function, and becomes, as it were, an organ of the living, growing race or state.

Location on a frontier involves remoteness from the centre of national, cultural, and political activities; these reach their greatest intensity in the core of the nation and exercise only an attenuated influence on the far-away borders, unless excellent means of communication keep up a circulation of men, commodities, and ideas between centre and periphery. For the frontier, therefore, the centripetal force is weakened; the centrifugal is strengthened often by the attraction of some neighbouring state or tribe, which has established bonds of marriage, trade, and friendly intercourse with the outlying community. Moreover, the mere infusion of foreign blood, customs, and ideas, especially a foreign religion, which is characteristic of a border zone, invades the national solidarity. Hence we find that a tendency to political defection constantly manifests itself along the periphery. A long reach weakens the arm of

authority, especially where serious geographical barriers intervene; hence border uprisings are usually successful, at least for a time. When accomplished, they involve that shrinkage of the frontiers which we have found to be the unmistakable symptom of national decline.

This defection shows itself most promptly in conquered border tribes of different blood who lack the bond of ethnic affinity, and whose remoteness emboldens them to throw off the political yoke. The decay of the Roman Empire, after its last display of energy under Trajan, was registered in the revolt of its peripheral districts beyond the Euphrates, Danube, and Rhine, as also in the rapid Teutonization of eastern Gaul, which here prepared the way for the assertion of independence. The border satraps of the ancient Persian Empire were constantly revolting, as the history of Asia Minor shows. Aragon, Old Castile, and Portugal were the first kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula to throw off Saracen dominion. Mountain ranges and weary stretches of desert roads enabled the rebellions in Chinese Turkestan and the border districts of Dzungaria in 1863 to be maintained for several years.\*

A feeble grasp upon remote peripheral possessions is often further weakened by the resistance of an immigrant population from beyond the boundary, which brings with it new ideas of government. This was the geographical history of the Texan revolt. A location on the far northern outskirts of Mexican territory, some twelve hundred miles from the capital, rendered impossible intelligent government control, the enforcement of the laws, and prompt defence against the Indians. Remoteness weakened the political cohesion. More than this, the American ethnic boundary lapped far over eastern Texas, forming that border zone of two-fold race which we have come to know. This alien stock, antagonistic to the national ideals emanating from the City of Mexico, dominant over the native population by reason of its intelligence, energy, and wealth, ruptured the feeble political bond and asserted the independence of Texas. Quite similar was the history of the "Independent State of Acre," which in 1899 grew up just within the Bolivian frontier under the leadership of Brazilian caoutchouc gatherers, resisted the collection of taxes by the Bolivian Government, and four years later secured annexation to Brazil.†

Even when no alien elements are present to weaken the race bond, if natural barriers intervene to obstruct and retard communi-

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\* Alexis Krausse, *Russia in Asia*, pp. 174-175. New York, 1899.

† Charles E. Akers, *History of South America*, 1854-1904, p. 562. New York, 1904.

cation between centre and periphery, the frontier community is likely to develop the spirit of defection, especially if its local geographic, and hence social, conditions are markedly different from those of the governing centre. This is the explanation of that demand for independent statehood which was rife in our trans-Allegheny settlements from 1785 to 1795, and of that separatist movement which advocated political alliance with either the British colonies to the north or the Spanish to the west, because these were nearer and offered easier access to the sea. A frontier location and an intervening mountain barrier were important factors in the Whisky Rebellion in western Pennsylvania, just as similar conditions later suggested the secession of the Pacific States from the Union. Disaffection with the Government was manifested by the Trek Boers of early South Africa, "especially by those who dwelt in the outlying districts where the Government had exerted and could exert little control." In 1795 the people of Graaf-Reinet, a frontier settlement of that time, revolted against the Dutch South African Company and set up a miniature republic.\*

When to a border situation is added a geographic location affording conditions of long-established isolation, this tendency to maintain political autonomy becomes very pronounced. This is the explanation of so many frontier mountain states that have retained complete or partial independence, such as Nepal, Bhutan, the Asturias, which successfully withstood Saracen attack, and Montenegro, which has repelled alike Venetian, Servian, and Turkish dominion. Europe especially has numerous examples of these unabsorbed border states, whose independence represents the equilibrium of the conflicting political attractions about them. But all these smallest fragments of political territory have either some commercial or semi-political union with one or another of their neighbours. The little independent principality of Liechtenstein, wedged in between Switzerland and the Tyrol, is included in the customs union of Austro-Hungary; so the small, independent monarchy of Luxemburg, which has been attached in turn to all the great states which have grown up along its borders, is included in the *Zollverein* of Germany. The republic of Andorra, far up in a lofty valley of the Pyrenees, which has maintained its freedom for a thousand years, acknowledges certain rights of suzerainty exercised by France and the Spanish bishopric of Urgel.† A link between the two

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\* Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa*, pp. 108-109. New York, 1897.

† H. R. Mill, *International Geography*, p. 378. New York, 1902.

neighbouring states and yet independent of them, it is politically a typical product of a border environment.

Oftentimes a state gains by recognizing this freedom-loving spirit of the frontier, and by turning it to account for national defence along an exposed boundary. In consequence of the long wars between Scotland and England, to the Scotch barons having estates near the Border were given the Wardenships of the Marches, offices of great power and dignity; and their clans, accustomed only to the imperfect military organization demanded by the irregular but persistent hostilities of the time and place, developed a lawless spirit. Prohibited from agriculture by their exposed location, they left their fields waste, and lived by pillage and cattle-lifting from their English and even their Scotch neighbours. The valour of these southern clans, these "reivers of the Border," was the bulwark of Scotland against the English, but their mutinous spirit resisted the authority of the king and led them often to erect semi-independent principalities.\*

China has fringed her western boundaries with quasi-independent tribes whose autonomy is assured and whose love of freedom is a guarantee of guerilla warfare against any invader from Central Asia. The Mantze tribes in the mountain borders of Sze-Chuan province have their own rulers and customs, and only pay tribute to China.† The highlands of Kansu are sprinkled with such independent tribes. Sometimes a definite bargain is entered into—a self-governing military organization and a yearly sum of money in return for defence of the frontier. The Mongol tribes of the Charkar country or "Borderland" just outside the Great Wall northwest of Peking constitute a paid army of the Emperor to guard the frontier against the Khalkhas of northern Mongolia, the tribe of the Genghis Khan.‡ Similarly, semi-independent military communities for centuries made a continuous line of barriers against the raids of the steppe nomads along the southern and southeastern frontiers of Russia from the Dnieper to the Ural Rivers. These were the "Free Cossacks," located on the debatable ground between the fortified frontier of the agricultural steppe and marauding Crimean Tartars. Nominally subjects of the Czar, they obeyed him when it suited them, and on provocation rose in open revolt. The Cossacks of the Dnieper, who to the middle of the seventeenth century formed Poland's border de-

\* Wm. Robertson, *History of Scotland*, pp. 19-20. New York, 1831. *The Scotch Borderers*, Littell's Living Age, Vol. 40, p. 180.

† Isabella Bird Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, Vol. II., pp. 209-210. London, 1900.

‡ M. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China*, 1844-1846, Vol. 1, pp. 41, 42, 97. Reprint. Chicago, 1898.

fence against Tartar invasion, were jealous of any interference with their freedom. They lent their services on occasions to the Sultan of Turkey, and even to the Crimean Khan; and finally, in 1681, attached themselves and their territory to Russia.\* Here speaks that spirit of defection which is the natural product of the remoteness and independence of frontier life. The Russians also attached to themselves the Kalmucks located between the lower Volga and Don, and used them as a frontier defence against their Tartar and Kirghiz neighbours. In this case, as in that of the Cossacks and the Charkars of eastern Mongolia, we have a large body of men living in the same arid grassland, leading the same pastoral life, and carrying on the same kind of warfare as the nomadic marauders whose pillaging, cattle-lifting raids they aim to suppress. The imperial orders to the Charkars limit them strictly to the life of herdmen, with the purpose of maintaining their mobility and military efficiency. So in olden times, for the Don Cossacks agriculture was prohibited on pain of death, lest they should lose their taste for the live-stock booty of a punitive raid. A still earlier instance of this utilization of border nomads is found in the first century after Christ, when the Romans made the Arabian tribe of Beni Jafre, dwelling on the frontier of Syria, the warders of the eastern marches of the Empire.

The advancing frontier of an expanding people often carries them into a sparsely settled country where the unruly members of society can with advantage be utilized as colonists. After centralized and civilized Russia began to encroach with the plough upon the pastures of the steppe Cossacks, and finally suppressed these military republics, the more turbulent and obstinate remnants of them she colonized along the Kuban and Terek rivers, to serve as bulwarks against the incursions of the Caucasus tribes and as the vanguard of the advance southward.†

This is one principle underlying the transportation of criminals to the frontier. They serve to hold the new country. The Russian advance into Siberia has, since 1709, set up its milestones in settlements formed of prisoners of war, political exiles, and worse offenders.‡ Penal colonists located on the shores of Kamtchatka helped build and man the crazy boats which set out for Alaska at the end of the eighteenth century. China settles its thieves and cheats among the villages of its own border provinces of Shensi§ and Kansu;

\* D. M. Wallace. *Russia*, pp. 352-356. New York, 1904. Article on Cossacks in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† D. M. Wallace, *Russia*, p. 358. New York, 1904. Walter K. Kelly, *History of Russia*, Vol. II, pp. 394-395. London, 1881.

‡ Alexis Krausse, *Russia in Asia*, pp. 43, 53. New York, 1899.

§ Francis H. Nichols, *Through Hidden Shensi*, pp. 139-140. New York, 1902.

but its worst criminals it transports far away to the Ili country on the western frontier of the Empire, where they have doubtless contributed to the spirit of revolt that has there manifested itself.\*

The abundance of opportunity and lack of competition in a new frontier community, its remoteness from the centre of authority, and its imperfect civil government serve to attract thither the shiftless and vicious, as well as the sturdy and enterprising. The society of the early Trans-Allegheny frontier included both elements. The lawless who drifted to the border formed gangs of horse thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, who called forth from the others the summary methods of lynch law.† North Carolina, which in its early history formed the southern frontier of Virginia, swarmed with ruffians who had fled thither to escape imprisonment or hanging, and whose general attitude was to resist all regular authority and especially to pay no taxes.‡ Similarly, that wide belt of mountain forest which forms the waste boundary between Korea and Manchuria is the resort of bandits who have harried both sides of the border ever since this neutral district was established in the thirteenth century.§ The frontier communities of the Russian Cossacks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were regular asylums for runaway serfs and peasants who were fleeing from taxation; their hetmans were repeatedly fugitive criminals. The eastern border of Russia formed by the Volga basin in 1775 was described as “an asylum for malcontents and vagabonds of all kinds, ruined nobles, disrobed monks, military deserters, fugitive serfs, highwaymen, and Volga pirates”—disorderly elements which contributed greatly to the insurrection led by the Ural Cossacks in that years.|| “The Debatable Land,” a tract between the Esk and Sark rivers, formerly claimed by both England and Scotland, was long the haunt of thieves, outlaws and vagabonds, as indeed was the whole Border, subject as it was to the regular jurisdiction of neither side.¶

Just beyond the political boundary, where police authority comes to an end and where pursuit is cut short or retarded, the fleeing criminal finds his natural asylum. Hence all border districts tend to harbour undesirable refugees from the other side. Deserters and outlaws from China proper sprinkle the eastern districts of Mon-

\* M. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China*, 1844-1846, Vol. 1, p. 23. Reprint, Chicago, 1898.

† Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, Vol. 1, pp. 130-132. New York, 1895.

‡ John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, Vol. II, pp. 311, 315-321. Boston, 1897.

§ Archibald Little, *The Far East*, p. 249. Oxford, 1905.

|| Alfred Rambaud, *History of Russia*, Vol. II, pp. 45, 199-200. Boston, 1886.

¶ Malcolm Lang, *History of Scotland*, Vol. 1, pp. 42-43. London, 1800. *The Scotch Borderland*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. CCLX, p. 191, Feb., 1886.

golia.\* Marauding bands of Apaches and Sioux, after successful depredations on American ranches, for years fled across the line into Mexico and Canada before the hammering hoof-beats of Texas Ranger and United States cavalry, until a treaty with Mexico in 1882, authorizing such armed pursuit to cross the boundary, cut off at least one asylum.† Our country exchanges other undesirable citizens with its northern and southern neighbours in cases where no extradition treaty provides for their return; and the borders of the individual states are crossed and recrossed by shifty gentlemen seeking to dodge the arm of the law. The fact that so many State boundaries fall in the southern Appalachians, where illicit distilling and feud murders provide most of the cases on the docket, has materially retarded the suppression of these crimes by increasing the difficulty both of apprehending the offender and of subpoenaing the reluctant witness.

Dissatisfied, oppressed, or persecuted members of a political community are prone to seek an asylum across the nearest border, where happier or freer conditions of life are promised. There they contribute to that mixture of race which characterizes every boundary zone, though as an embittered people they may also help to emphasize any existing political or religious antagonism. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 was followed by an exodus of Huguenots from France to the Protestant states of Switzerland, the Palatinate of the Rhine, and Holland, as also across the Channel into southern England; just as in recent years the Slav borderland of eastern Germany has received a large immigration of Polish Jews from Russia. When the Polish king in 1571 executed the leader of the Dnieper Cossacks, thousands of these bold borderers left their country and joined the community of the Don; and in 1722 after the Dnieper community had been crushed by Peter the Great, a similar exodus took place across the southern boundary into the Crimea, whereby the Tartar horde was strengthened, just as a few years before, during an unsuccessful revolt of the Don Cossacks, some two thousand of the malcontents crossed the southern frontier to the Kuban River in Circassia.‡ The establishment of America independence in 1783 saw an exodus of loyalists from the United States into the contiguous districts of Ontario, New Brunswick, and Spanish Florida; five years later discontent with the Federal Government for its dilatory opposition to the occlusion of the Mississippi

\* Friedrich Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, Vol. III, p. 175. London, 1896.

† A. B. Hart, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, pp. 81-82. New York, 1901.

‡ Alfred Rambaud, *History of Russia*, Vol. II, pp. 45, 50. Boston, 1886.

and the lure of commercial betterment sent many citizens of the early Trans-Allegheny commonwealths to the Spanish side of the Mississippi,\* while the Natchez District on the east bank of the river contained a sprinkling of French who had become dissatisfied with Spanish rule in Louisiana and changed their domicile.

These are some of the movements of individuals and groups which contribute to the blending of races along every frontier, and make of the boundary a variable zone as opposed to the rigid artificial line, in terms of which we speak.

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\* Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, p. 366. Boston, 1899.

## VIRGINIA TRADE AND COMMERCE.

BY

G. T. SURFACE.

Excepting the complicated factor of human traffic, the commercial relations in Virginia under slavery were surprisingly simple, as compared with the social ideals and customs of the time. The explanation for this is manifest, in that the large labour surplus enabled the owners to be producers of most of the articles consumed, and at the same time produce a large surplus of tobacco, the most profitable commodity in the export trade. In 1790, Virginia ranked first in the total value of exports (\$3,131,865). By 1830 the export trade had increased to \$4,791,644; while for the same year the imports only aggregated \$405,739, showing how adequately the demands were met by the home manufacturers.

The passing of the War crisis, with its destruction to life and property, and the emancipation of slaves, made necessary a new system of production, which in turn brought about a reactionary adjustment of Virginia's commercial relations. The decade following the Civil War is the period which marks the beginning of a new era in the industrial and commercial development of the State. We shall, therefore, discuss briefly the factors which gave impetus and foundation to the succeeding order. The immediate and most urgent demand was to become self-sustaining, by the production of food-stuffs and clothing, since all of the surplus had been consumed during the four-years' struggle, which centred on Virginia territory, and from which the people of the State suffered most. Co-ordinate with this was the demand for restoring the property losses incurred.